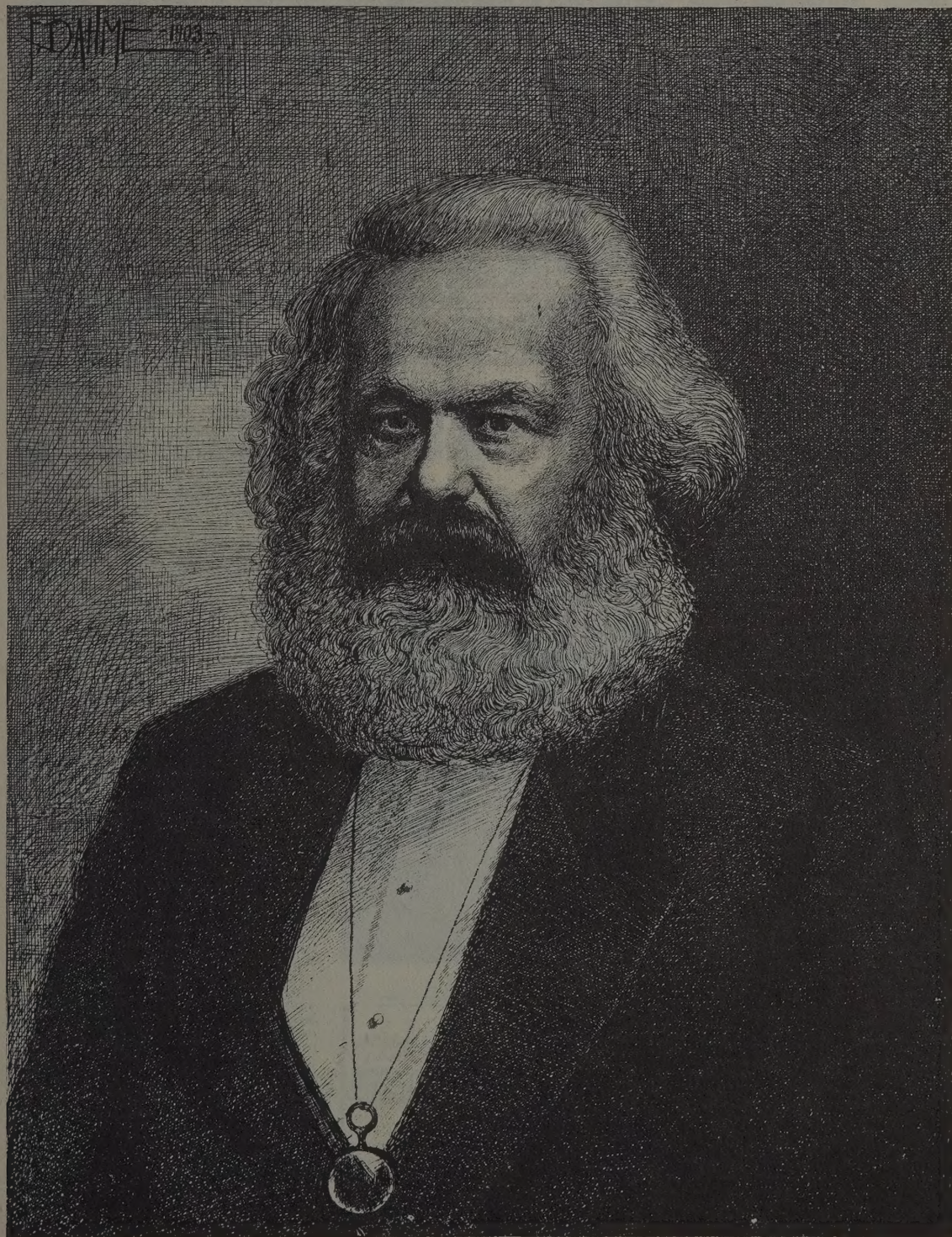


DECEMBER 1904

# THE COMRADE

No. 15, Vol. III




KARL MARX



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## Words of Cheer for 'The Comrade'

The Comrade grows in interest. As a Socialist review it fills a want. Comrade Wentworth's review of current events is particularly valuable. For contents of the September issue see the advertisement. The first page carries a portrait of Ben Hanford, which ought to add to the strength of Socialism among the fair sex.—*Florida Socialist*.

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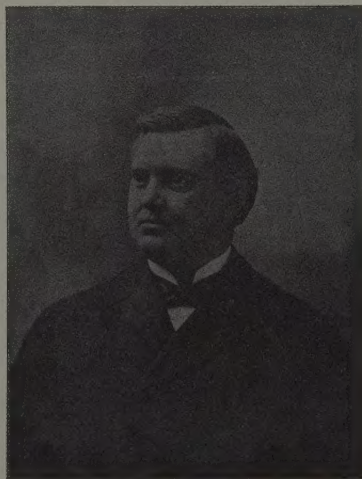
In very many ways this is a book to be welcomed. It in a measure fills a long felt want for a fairly short and accurate exposition of socialism that is simple enough for the beginner and elaborate enough to be a help to the student of socialism. On the whole the book is one that should and undoubtedly will, find a place among the foremost of the propaganda works on socialism in the English language. *The Workers' Call.*

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Leonard D. Abbott in *Commonwealth*.

Mr. Vail's earlier work, "Modern Socialism," showed him to be a clear and, what is even rarer, a fair, thinker, a careful student, and a popular writer. The present work, somewhat larger and considerably more systematic in its treatment, is an improvement upon the "Modern Socialism." We have long felt the need of a book which should give, within reasonable limits of space, a systematic and, at the same time, a popular presentation of modern Socialism for American readers—a book which, while it could not pretend to cover the whole field in all its details, should set the main outlines of the subject clearly before the reader and prepare him for further study. This it has been Mr. Vail's purpose to do. We will not say that he has made an unequalled success. Unequalled success is not to be expected, least of all in so early an attempt at so difficult a task. But he has achieved a very marked degree of success. The book is far the best of its sort yet published. It will be a means of making the Socialist position intelligible to very many who do not yet understand it; and many of our comrades will do well to read it carefully, in order to gain the right point of view, to meet common objections and put their arguments into a form that will appeal to the average man who is not already a student of economic questions. *The People.*



# THE COMRADE

## The Times and Their Tendencies

### The Balloting

Opinion as to the result of the national election is not wanting. On the whole it is conceded even by Republicans that it was a victory of personality and not of principles. The historic injunction, "Put not your trust in princes" has been again ignored and the American people have a man to worship.

To the socialist, who stands on an eminence high enough to see the play of economic forces, it is an interesting phenomenon,—this overwhelming endorsement of a man. It seems an archaic state of mind in the mass, to him who has grasped the truth of economic determinism and knows that public servants at any given period must be the expression of the dominant economic forces of the period. If Mr. Roosevelt were a saint of the orthodox heaven he would still be the instrument of Wall street, for the very fact of his re-election is an earnest that Wall street approves of him. Wall street and the common people both approving the same man constitutes the tragedy of American politics.

The faith of the people that their interests can be guarded by a man who is the political expression of the exploiters of the people was expressed at the November election; and it marks the low state of class-consciousness in the mass.

The marked increase in the socialist vote of the middle west is no indication of a gain of class-consciousness of the philosophic and enduring kind. A duplication of Massachusetts conditions locally in other states would prove this. No disappointment should be felt by socialists should the socialist vote in the west fall largely away at the next congressional elections. A rehabilitation of the Democratic party under radical leadership will be the only test of the integrity of our vote. If Hearst had obtained the Democratic nomination we should then have known how strong we are.

### Massachusetts' Condition

In Massachusetts the test was severe, and considering the weak state of organization the result was eminently satisfactory. Colorado was put to a similar test with not so encouraging a result.

In Massachusetts conditions were such that every vote which was not philosophically class-conscious went for the Democratic candidate for governor: Douglas. It was "anything to defeat Bates," and that over 12,000 voters in the state should have resisted the temptation to immediate gain and stuck to their colors is matter for congratulation.

It means that since the last presidential election Massachusetts has gained 3,262 class-conscious socialists who will stand as a rock for revolutionary tactics unstamped by local whirlwinds.

Douglas, the Democratic candidate for governor was elected by a class-conscious vote: but it was a class-conscious vote of the unphilosophic kind. Union labor in Massachusetts, which has been voting largely with the Socialists, slumped solidly for Douglas to punish Bates, the retiring Republican who vetoed an overtime bill. This slump was a class-conscious movement:—unphilosophic, but class-conscious; and therefore hopeful in ultimate effect. It needs but to be educated a step further to reject the immediate petty gain for the future great good. Douglas, in his campaign, openly asked for socialist votes; an unprecedented proceeding on the part of a gubernatorial candidate of the old parties in American politics. And Douglas got the vote he asked for; the vote not yet philosophic enough to withstand the beguilement of the capitalist "friend of labor." But Douglas is a capitalist. His interests are ultimately with his class, and he has only to be governor long enough to demonstrate it.

Such demonstration will carry over the most alert of the workers who elected him from unphilosophic to philosophic class-consciousness when they will join the 12,978 men who voted a straight ticket for socialism in November.

Massachusetts has not gone backward and it is no depth of insight which assumes she has. She has come satisfactorily out of the severest test that could be put upon any state, and it will be necessary for the movement in other states to withstand a similar trial before the old Bay state may justly be looked upon with compassion.

### The Academic and the Labor Union

There is probably no more conspicuous example of insularity of outlook than is furnished by the public utterances of President Eliot of Harvard College on the labor question.

That he has made no advancement either in discernment or breadth of vision since he declared two years ago that the "scab" was his ideal hero, is evidenced by his speech at the Economic Club dinner in Boston recently. In this speech he said:

"Is it not clear that it is the duty of every employer suffering from a strike not only to protect every man who comes to his help, but to make sure that that man continues to be employed?"

"Is not one of the great causes of the frequency of strikes for trivial reasons the assured belief on the part of the strikers that they are only to be out a week, or a few weeks, or at the worst, a few months, and that then they will be returned to their jobs? I know no more valuable principle or method for the promotion of industrial liberty than the provision of 'no sacrifice of the independent workman to the labor union.'"

It is the last of the sentences quoted in which President Eliot judges himself and gives so clear a gauge of his moral and intellectual limitations. To confess publicly that he knows neither principle nor method more valuable for the promotion of industrial liberty than the protection of the scab in the security of the job taken from the union workman, is to confess his intellectual impotency in the face of the great industrial wrongs that are crying for solution.

President Eliot passes for an educated man, partly because of the dignity commonly ascribed to the position of college president, but chiefly because there is no one in his immediate circle with the temerity to point out his intellectual shortcomings.

Erasmus, a very interesting Dutchman who had considerable influence in his day declared that it is the quality of what you know that tells,—not the quantity; and even Josh Billings once volunteered the opinion that "it's better not to know so much, than to know so many things that ain't so."

Industrial liberty is not to be found in a state of society divided into warring classes by the ownership by one of these classes of the economic sources of life. Industrial liberty is a disgusting farce while the tools with which a man must work are the private property of another.

President Eliot may very likely translate a sonnet of Anacreon and no one can muster the kind of knowledge to criticise the perfection of his Greek. No one cares whether he is right or wrong. But when he allows himself to come into the public eye as the apologist for conditions of which the humblest workman has positive and intimate knowledge, he exposes himself to a new kind of criticism; a criticism that will follow him behind the bulwarks of his academic dignities and expose him in the real shallowness of his intellectual endowment.

It is necessary for the defense of the owning class that the scab shall be justified in the eyes of society; but it is a ruthless action of the Employers association of Massachusetts to call President Eliot from his books to be their spokesman in a field in which only his accident of position can hold him above derision.

### The Academic and the Socialist

But there is another academic in New England who has recently given tongue in defense of the existing social disorder, who cannot be classed with President Eliot. Mr. Eliot despite his narrow class sympathies,—quite natural, considering his environment—and his shallowness in a field of unaccustomed speculation, has the dignity which crowns a man who is honest with himself. No aspersions can be made concerning Mr. Eliot's integrity. But at Yale college; Harvard's ancient rival, there is a man who writes after his name: "Professor of Political and Social Science," who for paucity of thinking and shallowness of resource in argument is the supreme example of American academic imbecility.

In Collier's Weekly of October 29th he writes under the caption "The Fallacies of Socialism" and on reading his effort one is almost forced to suspect that Collier's is secretly socialistic in its sympathies



and that the editors asked Prof. Sumner for his article in order to expose the inanity of the opposition.

The first sentence of the article which strikes one as peculiar to the author and not common to his conventional school of thought is this:

"To talk of making another system is like talking of making a man of sixty into something else than what his life has made him."

Rather a hopeless outlook: this of the world being too old to receive a new idea!

Again:

"As there is no way in which we can turn bad luck into good, or misfortune into good fortune, what the proposition means is that if we cannot all have good luck no one shall have it. The unlucky will pull down the lucky. That is all that equality ever can mean. The worst becomes the standard."

To attempt to reply to such drivel would sully the dignity of any writer. "Professor" Sumner's article is its own best refutation. It is so rapid that one wonders if he wrote it merely for the small check he received for it, or because he was flattered into making the attempt without the pains of familiarizing himself with socialist aims and literature. To compare the mind of this man who is rattling round in the Yale chair of economics with the mind of a socialist like, say: Maurice Maeterlinck, would make the very gods fall from their pedestals and roll on the carpet in laughter.

But it may be well that no more intellectual person than Mr. Sumner is engaged in the conventional scholastic occupation of befogging the young intellectuals at Yale. As it must be a small mind indeed which fails to detect his shallowness he may perhaps do less harm than another.

His unconscionable attempt to convey the impression in his Collier's article that socialists appeal to force falls flat only because of the inane character of what precedes it. He says in closing:

"When the socialists talk about rising and shooting, as if such acts would not be unreasonable or beyond possibility, they put themselves at the limit of the law, and may, before they know it, become favorers of crime."

Very dreadful! Very dreadful indeed! But wholly unconvincing, because the world knows by this time what socialism stands for; and, if Professor Sumner will keep on writing, the small number who care about the archaic reasonings of the academics will know what he stands for, and there will be no harm to anybody.

Anyhow the professor himself need not really fear the shooting. Even a shaft of ridicule would pass through him as harmlessly as an arrow through a fog bank.

He is entirely without substance.

**Who is to do it?** It would be interesting to know who is using or is to use the killing material that is being turned out by American factories. It is reported from Connecticut that the factory of the Union Metallic Cartridge Company at Bridgeport is turning out over 1,000,000 loaded shells a day. Over at Chicopee, Mass., the Ames sword company has just been awarded the largest contract ever executed with the United States government. The local papers shout with joy that the order will "give work" to one hundred men for fourteen months. The order is for cavalry sabres. As a side light on these preparations for peace-conferences it is interesting that the Army and Navy Club of New York has just bought two expensive plots of ground on West Forty-third street as a site for a new club-house. The Army and Navy Club of New York, now fifteen years old, is a decided success. It has moved three times because of increasing membership, and its fourth home, when completed will contain 25 sleeping-rooms, in addition to the usual departments of a modern club. Of course all this is for the men who do the loafing, posing, and bossing—not the fighting. It argues that the workers of the nation are every year coming to support in idleness a larger class whose special department of capitalism is the trade of professional murder. And, as is natural and fitting, to a society of class distinctions the workers' degradation is further facilitated by money allowed the officers by the United States government to be used in the tipping of servants. The new secretary, Mr. Morton, is the democratic individual who initiated this allowance.

The habit of tipping people who do something for one which they are otherwise paid to do—or ought to be—is a curse to all travelers and a degradation of the worker into mendicancy. It's official recognition by the government is disgusting from every view point. Heretofore traveling officers have had to pay their own tips, theoretically; but really they have always been included in their expense accounts to the government under some other charge. Now the new secretary has decided to allow each officer traveling in this country 50 cents a day for tips, \$1 a day in Europe and \$1.50 a day while on transatlantic ships.

The people pay.

**The Increase of Insanity** Meanwhile, as is logical and natural, as the loafing class increases, making the lives of the producers harder, more minds as well as bodies break down under the hideous strain of the system.

The steady gain in the number of the insane poor, who must be supported at the public charge—a further burden to the workers—is far beyond the gain in general population,—not only in New York and Massachusetts, but in every civilized state and nation.

Professed "experts" have been slow to acknowledge this, and many of them still do it grudgingly and often evasively. But in the state of New York, where the lunacy commissioners used to talk about "decreasing" insanity, the full import of the facts begins to be recognized. The annual report for the year ended October 1, 1903, showed a gain in the New York state hospitals alone from 23,270 to 24,187; and this has again increased up to October 1, 1904 to 25,019,—a gain in two years of 1749 or 875 a year, which is more than 3½ per cent a year. The state population in the interval has not increased 2 per cent a year. Neither does, nor can the state's provision for all these insane, in monster asylums, increase so fast as they gain; the effort has been making for 15 years, and the provision is still some 3000 short.

Under these conditions New York began last winter what has been the practice in Massachusetts for many years: the boarding out of the insane. This accelerates the death rate among them and is considered therefore good statesmanship. It saves the taxpayer money.

In England, too, the facts are being recognized and some interesting figures are given in the latest report of the lunacy commission of that Kingdom. It is stated therein that the insane die much faster than the sane, and the statistics are given for both classes. It is also stated that the insane nevertheless accumulate faster than do the sane, in the population of the nation. These two things being so, it must logically follow that new cases of insanity must be increasing beyond the normal gain in population. For if it were otherwise,—the 120,000 insane in England and Wales would diminish by death faster than the sane population of 30,000,000.

The conditions which produce insanity are the same throughout the world. Most pious people believe when their family is afflicted that it is a judgment of their god. This relieves them of all personal responsibility toward providing a social system under which men and women might remain sane. But the mills are slowly grinding though we may refuse to see it, and sooner or later the cumulative ills of society will drag our boasted civilization to the earth and compel us to build anew.

**Producing them In the West** It is interesting to watch the stress and strain and the ceaseless grinding of economic determinism inspite of the tragedy involved in it.

The state of Illinois recently passed an anti-convict labor law prohibiting the men in the state prison from working. The worker, with his mind trained by capitalist education, unable to see further than his nearest job, does not want the convict to work. So he arranges with the capitalist legislatures to do all the work himself with permission to carry the convict in idleness on his back. The legislatures are quite willing to do this, caring neither for the worker nor the convict: and by doing it gain an interesting name as "friendly to labor". But beside the absurdity of the workers legislating to get work the problem of the convict is one to appeal to all humanity.

There are 1400 prisoners in the Joliet penitentiary in enforced idleness due to this law. They can only sit and brood. They can be given only a limited amount of exercise. They can be put at nothing that will occupy their minds. This makes the Illinois state penitentiary a sort of kindergarten for the Insane hospital; an arrangement of which capitalist society should be very proud. The quality of statesmanship which can get a state into such a fix is imbecilic enough to be entertaining. If the other state departments are conducted upon a similar intellectual and moral plane no further explanation would seem necessary to account for the hundred thousand votes cast in Illinois for the Socialist party. For society first to make criminals by its unjust laws and then to lock them up in idleness that produces insanity is the last violation that earth can offer to the human soul.

**Impossible Russia** A very significant report comes from Russia that owing to constant break-downs on the Transsiberian railroad, the provisioning of troops near Mukden is becoming difficult and supplies are running low.

If this is the case in the middle of November, what will it be when the real storms of the Siberian winter sweep this long line?

Are the foolish Russian peasants who are fighting for the Russian oligarchy to starve on the bleak steppes because their masters cannot clothe and feed them? One fact must be clear regarding the Trans-Siberian railroad: the locomotives and other rolling stock have been used since the opening of hostilities up to the limit of which they are capable. Such a long continued strain will wear out and break down the output of the best machine shops, and this is a condition which must be getting continually worse as the months go by. Russia has been robbing her other railroad systems to operate at greater efficiency this long single-track line across the continent of Asia, but there comes a time when the physical needs of all railroads require reckoning.

It would be a dreary end to Russian fighting:—the starving to death of thousands at the eastern end of those two streaks of rust. It would be better to go over to the Japs, as Russia is always fearing they will, anyhow.



## THE COMRADE

It must be very comforting to these Russian soldiers to know that all their letters are being read before they are allowed to go to Russia, or before those from home are distributed. A German paper says that an order was issued some months ago which called for this measure to "combat revolutionary tendencies among the troops." Especial care is taken with the mail of the Jewish soldiers. They are allowed neither to send nor receive any writing in Yiddish. The same holds in the case of the men from Poland. It is not strange that some of these fellows should want to be taken prisoners under such circumstances. It is a wonder Russia has any left to fight her dreary conflict.

They say that Prince Mirsky, the successor of the assassinated Plehve, is not likely to meet the latter's fate because of his mild and liberal disposition. He is described as a little man, about the stature of the French statesman Thiers, of blessed memory. One interesting report is that his wife is a disciple of Tolstoi. If this is true, and she has any influence over him, it is safe to assume that the Russian oligarchy will get another boy pretty soon. They don't want any sentimental nonsense in their business.

### On the Quiet

It is quite evident that Russia with all her occupation of the east is not too busy to keep up her aggressive trickery and plotting against her weaker neighbors. Norway and Sweden must have watched her infamous and dishonest annihilation of Finland with grave apprehension that she might finally conclude, she needed them in her scheme, also. From this point of view a certain request, innocent enough upon its face, should be regarded by Sweden with distrust.

A certain Russian company organized ostensibly for the humane purpose of rescuing disabled vessels and raising wrecks has asked the privilege of working in the maze of islands on the Swedish coasts, whose devious passages are yet only known to the pilots employed by the Swedish government. If the Russians knew all these channels of approach to Stockholm they might hold the capital of Sweden at their mercy, for this environment of islands is the great defense of Stockholm.

That Russia, under the guise of this company, is attempting to play a trick on Sweden for ulterior motives of aggression may be readily believed and if the Swedes are awake it is not likely that this wreck-raising company will be accorded permission to explore these many channels.

### Japanese Finances

It is rumored that the Japanese government is looking to the capitalist class in America for a substantial loan of many millions of dollars with which to carry on the war in Asia. As it is always easy to get money to kill people with there is no doubt that American capital will generously respond. It is an opportunity to saddle a national interest-paying debt on the Japanese working-class, and capitalism loves a national debt more than anything. No one stops to think that the good Christian capitalists who are to advance this money are helping a "heathen" nation to fight a "christian" nation.

What's religion anyhow when there is a dollar to be made?

On the subject of finance, the appeals of missionaries respecting Japan are beginning to come in, and they are very interesting. Bishop M. C. Harris, missionary bishop for the Methodist Episcopal church at Tokio, in an address at the weekly meeting of the Methodist preachers' association in New York recently, made an appeal for funds to assist in the support of families of Japanese soldiers now at the front. Bishop Harris said that in making the appeal he was not moved by any suggestion of the Japanese themselves; but he knew conditions there and knew that any offering for that purpose would be gladly received. Then he made the astonishing statement that the poor deluded peasants who are fighting for their capitalist exploiters are not even getting paid for it: they have gone off to fight battles not their own, leaving their families in destitution.

Bishop Harris explained that the Japanese soldiers get no pay; "just a little pin money," he called it; and that their families are supported by the communities in which they reside. "The drain upon some of these communities is very severe," said the bishop, "and much suffering results. The Japanese have not begged, and they never will, but I think that perhaps Christian America will wish to do something to relieve the suffering which is inevitable."

But why does not "Christian America" do something to stop the organized infamy of war in order that these families may be supported in the normal way? Why should Christians aid and abet collective

slaughter by looking after the families of the uniformed murderers? If Christianity were a living, vital religious force instead of a mere organized machine, by which men get their living without working, such a vulgar spectacle of hypocrisy as "Christian" nations armed to the teeth and fighting each other, would not disgrace the memory of the gentle Nazarene.

### Mr. Chamberlain Scores

Our English cousins are going to have their bread taxed by hook or crook if Mr. Chamberlain can possibly bring it about. He is so possessed of the ambition that England shall be the center of an "empire," instead of just a good home for a comfortable happy people, that he is working night and day to twist the English interests into an endorsement of their own undoing. He may succeed. Stranger things have happened. He has just scored heavily in gaining control of the London Standard. The Standard has been the only supporter of the cause of the people in the daily journalism of London, against the Chamberlain tariff schemes. It has up to now been an irritating obstacle to Mr. Chamberlain's efforts in turning the conservative party into a protectionist organization.

One way to undermine a cause or a party is to buy up its newspapers. Mr. Chamberlain understands this. The London Standard was fighting him: The London Standard must therefore be bought. So along comes Arthur Pearson, millionaire friend of Chamberlain, publisher of many journals and magazines. He buys the Standard, and the next morning the long-time readers and lovers of the paper which has been the friend of the peoples' cause pick up their papers to find their friend pouring hot shot into them from the ranks of the enemy. It is melancholy business; this changing a newspaper in a single night from a position long held in dignity and honor to the mere phonographic mouthpiece of an ambitious politician.

The sudden flop of the London Standard from free trade to protection, whereby it throws away the confidence invited by long years of editorial integrity, teaches the lesson that the power of money is nowhere so disastrously corruptive as in its ability to dictate what the people shall read in their newspapers.

### Church and State in France

Some little progress has been made during the month toward the separation of the church and state in France. Premier Combes has finally presented the government's project to the committee of the Chamber of Deputies. The measure embraces 25 articles. Evidently the job is to be done in as diplomatic a manner as possible. Instead of making an outright separation, as the committee itself proposed, M. Combes suggests a period of transition, with the view of the organization of new church conditions, and would allow the clergy an indemnity of 400 francs for four years following the separation, in order to permit of their making new arrangements for the private support of the churches. M. Combes' measure also provides a system of pensions for the dignitaries of the churches according to age and position; and the general supervision of cults is retained. The French embassy to the Vatican is suppressed, and there are many detailed provisions for carrying out the new regime.

Some light is thrown upon the popularity of M. Combes' policy by noting that in France there is a very positive difference between opposition to clericalism and opposition to Catholicism. Some of the most ardent Catholics appear to be the strongest anti-clericals. It is asserted by a Roman Catholic correspondent of the London Times that the great majority of the French people are anti-clericals, and fully in accord with the steps recently taken by the French ministry. The struggle of the religious congregations seems to have been largely a struggle of the village church against the monastic chapel, and of the secular clergy against the "regulars". Shrewd Frenchmen distinguish between the "machine," as it were, and the simple village priests, and while not necessarily abjuring ancient Catholicism, are vigorously opposing the pretensions of the French orders.

Altogether it looks as if the separation scheme ought to go through on greased wheels.

*Franklin St. Whitworth*





# The Socialist Vote

The following is the vote officially reported as having been cast in the states named in November 8th, with vote of 1900 and 1902 appended for comparison:—

	1900	1902	1904
Arizona .....			
Arkansas .....	27	519	1,085
California .....	7,572	9,502	1,816
Connecticut .....	1,741	2,857	29,535
Delaware .....		57	4,543
Florida .....	603		146
Idaho .....		1,800	2,337
Illinois .....	9,687	20,167	4,949
Indiana .....	2,374	7,134	69,225
Iowa .....	2,742	6,360	12,013
Kansas .....	1,605	4,078	14,847
Louisiana, .....			15,494
Maine .....	878	1,974	995
Maryland .....	908		1,960
Massachusetts .....	9,716	33,629	2,179
Missouri .....			12,978
Mississippi .....	6,128		
Montana .....			
Nebraska .....	708	2,466	
Nevada .....	823	3,157	
New Hampshire .....		1,057	
New Jersey .....	4,600	5,491	
North Dakota .....		518	
Ohio .....	4,847	1,245	
Oklahoma .....		1,4270	
Oregon .....	1,494	1,963	
Pennsylvania .....	4,831	3,532	
Rhode Island .....		21,910	
Tennessee .....			21,863
Utah .....	410		789
West Virginia .....	717	2,927	1,400
Wisconsin .....	286	286	5,761
Wyoming .....	7,065	15,957	1,574

## Press Comment on the Socialist Vote



THE utterances of the capitalist papers quoted below form interesting reading. Especially the clipping from *The New World*, a Chicago Catholic organ, should not be overlooked. That the Socialist Party is being recognized as a coming factor in American politics is attested by Mr. Parry, the union-smasher, by Mayor Rose of Milwaukee, and Mr. Dobson, the Ex-secretary of State of Iowa.

D. M. PARRY.

"The remarkable increase in the socialist vote was not a surprise to me," says Mr. Parry, "as I had information from various sources prior to the election which proved to my mind that the socialists were justified in making claims of a big gain in their voting strength."

"Several causes have contributed to this result. One of these causes has been the very active propaganda work on the part of the socialist sections. It is perhaps not generally known, but it is a fact, that the socialists use several hundred pamphlets and books in their educational work and have a number of newspapers of very wide circulation, one of these claiming to have 300,000 subscribers. This propaganda work on the part of the socialists has been going on for several years and in the recent campaign the conditions existing were particularly favorable to their work."

"In order to properly understand socialism the fact must be appreciated that it is largely a religion. Once a man is thoroughly a socialist it is difficult to convince him that he is wrong. Therefore, I am inclined to think that socialist strength once developed is apt to be much more permanent and less susceptible to political argument than the populist or other third party movements which have become familiar."



"WHO HEAVED THAT BRICK?"

Ryan Walker in *The Appeal to Reason*.

"I believe that the active work of Grover Cleveland in behalf of Judge Parker's election had much to do with driving so many socialists out of the democratic ranks. Those who believe that Debs was right in the great strike of 1894 could not see anything favorable to their views in a party upheld by Cleveland—the man who put an end to that strike."

MAYOR ROSE OF MILWAUKEE.

That socialism is the next issue in Milwaukee politics is the belief of Mayor Rose.

"Social Democrats may elect a mayor in 1906," the mayor said yesterday. "There is danger in this. I believe it will be necessary to take concerted action to prevent it."

"In this election, Social Democrats cut into the Democratic forces to a greater extent than into the Republican vote last spring."

Mayor Rose also brought up the question while discussing teachers' salaries with three members of the school board.

"It is going to be the big question," said the mayor. "It always has been my policy to do all in my power to induce manufacturers to come to Milwaukee. With this tremendous increase in the socialist vote, manufacturers will refuse to come. They will not invest a dollar in Milwaukee. Everywhere I go throughout the country I hear remarks concerning the Social Democratic strength in Milwaukee."

"It is a big question, but how will we meet it?" said Jeremiah Quin.

"We will have to disintegrate their movement," said the mayor. "Heretofore, they have gone about the city preaching their heresies without denials or contradictions from anyone. We must show the fallacy of their viewpoint."

The attitude of the mayor shows that Democrats in Milwaukee fear defeat at the hands of the socialists in the next municipal campaign.

This also was shown a month ago in the school board when A. J. Grundman, director from the twentieth ward, member of the Milwaukee city Democracy and a close friend of Mayor Rose, vigorously opposed on the school board floor granting socialist aldermen the privilege of using school buildings.—*Milwaukee Free Press*.

G. L. DOBSON, Ex-Secretary of the State of Iowa.

A severe thrust at socialism and a warning to Republicans to begin activities to ward off the impending danger of socialistic supremacy, was one of the points made by Hon. George L. Dobson, ex-secretary of state, at the rally of the Polk County Republican Club last evening.

"You cannot tell a socialist that he is a fool," said the speaker. "because he is not. He is just as sincere in his belief as you or I am in Republican doctrines. But go to him and tell him that socialism has never accomplished anything in the wide world and is an experiment that cannot be thrust upon a people in place of prosperity."

"I am told that there are seven precincts in Des Moines where the Democratic party has succumbed to the votes of the socialists, and in view of this I am led to believe that there is an impending struggle wherein socialism is to be met with as one of the great factors and we must be ready to meet it. There must be a time when the pendulum has reached the end of the stroke. At that time we must be ready to meet the swing that we may not be swept from our feet."

"The young men who are now preaching the doctrine of socialism are not fools, but they have been misled. They have been inoculated with the preachings of a vain theory and thoroughly believe that the impracticable doctrine of socialism is plausible and a good form of government. You must prepare to meet the struggle and save the country to the government of the rational people. As a rule, you find



## THE COMRADE

socialists among those who are disgruntled and at outs with the world. These must be educated in the proper way and they will not be lost to good government.—*Des Moines Register and Leader.*

### CHICAGO INTER-OCEAN.

That over 40,000 votes should have been cast in this city to make such a person as Eugene V. Debs the President of the United States is about the worst kind of advertising that Chicago could receive.

These 40,000 votes are deplorable not so much because Debs is a socialist as because of the kind of socialism for which Debs stands, as shown upon the occasion when he acquired, for the moment, the power to work his will, to a considerable extent, in this community.

All who remember the summer of 1894 know the kind of socialism for which Debs then stood. They know it was not the kind of socialism that seeks by legitimate methods to induce men to change their opinions as to the relations which they should hold to one another and to the state, and so bring them freely to consent to an industrial and social reorganization that would destroy peaceably the foundations of the existing order of things.

They know that the socialism that Debs stood for was the socialism which seeks for victory by appeals of malice and envy and class discrimination based on the accidents of life instead of its facts, and which relies for success upon the social hate thus inspired. They know it was the socialism which regards force and terror as legitimate arguments—the socialism that borrows much of its method from anarchy—the socialism of fire and the sword.

The socialism that Debs then stood for had to be put down with the strong hand. It discredited Debs with his own followers, who found that in practise it was failure to them.

Judged by his public utterances, Debs still stands for that kind of socialism. Yet in the city where his evil record was made—where the evil he did to his own followers is best known—he receives ten years later over 40,000 votes for the greatest and most responsible office in this or any other nation!

### CHICAGO POST.

The increase of the socialist vote as an aspect of the election does not mean what Mr. Debs and his associates are trying to make themselves believe it means. There were gains for pure socialism—as in Chicago—and there were losses—as in Massachusetts, where they have lost their representative. But the total gain must be largely discounted by the fact that Debs received thousands of votes from "radical Democrats," who knew he would not be elected, and who took this means of "reproving" the "reorganization" faction of the Democratic party for its repudiation of Bryanism. When Mr. Bryan and the radicals return to party power, these votes will take flight from Mr. Debs' barnyard in a flock. It will take a good many years of propagandism to make up their loss.

### CHICAGO CHRONICLE.

From now on the country may look only to Bryan, Watson, Hearst and Debs and such other radicals as may enter the lists with them for the "democratic" candidates and "democratic" principles. A revolutionary party must have revolutionary leaders. There will be no more attempts to harmonize constitutional Democrats with the agitators who have no inspiration save mischief and no purpose save violence.

The Democratic party of the constitution is dead. The Social Democratic party of continental Europe, preaching discontent and class hatred, assailing law, property and personal rights and insinuating confiscation and plunder, is here.

### CHICAGO AMERICAN.

Eugene V. Debs received a remarkable vote, estimated to be half as large in the state as that received by Judge Parker. In Chicago he received more than 40,000 and in the state at least 150,000.

In many Chicago precincts Debs received more votes than Parker and it is believed he has carried the thirty-third ward over Parker. Down state the miners voted almost solidly for Debs and in all the cities he polled a large vote. One of the surprising features of the Debs vote was that in many of what are known as the silk stocking wards of Chicago Debs received strong support. In the twelfth ward, which lies east of Douglas Park, he carried several precincts over Parker.

Politicians of all parties attempted to explain the big vote received by Debs. But the men who voted for Debs said that it was a protest against both the old parties, but more especially the Democratic.

### THE NEW WORLD, a Chicago Catholic organ.

The election of Tuesday made one thing strikingly plain, besides the popularity of President Roosevelt.

This thing is that radicalism is almost upon us. Let the victors exult as they may, the fact stands out. It is so dominant that it is alarming. There has been nothing like it in American history. How any thoughtful person beholding it can rejoice in the temporary success of the hour is more than we can understand.

As we write full returns have not come in, but enough is visible to show the sweep of the under-current. At one bound socialism has taken its place as the third party in the Union! Time and again we have been told by persons who did not know what people were thinking that really there was not much socialism in Chicago and very little out

in the state. We sincerely hope those good people have their eyes opened now. If they have not they never will. Forty-five thousand votes in Chicago—one hundred and fifty thousand in the state—what more will they have? Will they wait until they are struck by lightning?

Four years ago Debs received somewhat less than 88,000 votes. Now look at the returns from this state, Wisconsin, Colorado, California, Ohio, New York, Indiana, the Pennsylvania mining regions—the great industrial centers everywhere! Can any sane man take pleasure in the outlook? And remember, too, that this vote unquestionably would be far greater were it not for the repeated warnings of Catholic archbishops, bishops and the Catholic press. A politician of national prominence declared a few days ago that the fight this journal has made against socialism has deprived that movement of at least 12,000 followers in Chicago and vicinity. If this be true of the *New World*, how greatly the Catholic press elsewhere has aided in the conflict.

But the Catholic church cannot do it all. The Catholic press cannot save existing social order if it make no effort to save itself. Upon the hands of the Republican party an awful responsibility was placed last Tuesday. So far as its ancient enemy, the Democratic party, is concerned its victory is complete. It has the Presidency, the Senate, the lower house of Congress, a majority of the governors of the states. It knows that reforms—great, far-sweeping reforms—are necessary, and it has the power to make them. God help our civilization if it does not! Every man worthy of the name knows that the trusts are eating up the people. It must repress the trusts or stand before the world responsible for our system of government being changed into a social republic. The arbitrary cutting down of wages must cease or socialism will seize another lever to lift itself into power. An hundred other injustices must be made less or the nation will find itself confronted by an enemy that will not down. We believe Mr. Roosevelt means to inaugurate such reforms, but will he be supported by his party?

If one look back at it dispassionately there has been a steady growth of radicalism in the United States during the last thirty years. First, there was the old Greenback party, and Populism was its legitimate successor. For years the latter flaunted before the country, and its ghost occasionally parades yet. In some respects it was a forerunner of socialism, its plank "public ownership of public utilities" preparing men's minds for the party of Debs. Now we have socialism itself rising into the saddle. How is this latest arrival liked? No matter how it may be viewed, certainly it is a party of protest. So is moribund Populism. Both are radical; but neither would exist if there were no cause for them. Now it devolves upon the men who guide the ship of state to remove that cause or confront such an upheaval of radicalism as this country has never seen in the past. Tuesday's election is at once a victory and a warning. It must never be forgotten that the motto of socialism is, in the language of its Chicago organ, "Christianity shall be destroyed; the Catholic church first."

### NEW YORK SUN.

The vote polled by Eugene V. Debs for President at last week's election is estimated from unofficial returns to have exceeded 600,000. A greater number of citizens voted for him than have voted for the candidate of any third party since the civil war, excepting only James



DON'T LET HIGH LIVING BLIND YOU TO THE FACT  
THAT LAMB SOMETIMES BECOMES



RAM!

—Bradley in the Chicago News.



## THE COMRADE

B. Weaver, who, as a Populist in 1892, received 1,041,021 popular votes and 22 electoral votes. Debs got more votes than any candidate who since 1864 has failed to obtain the vote of an Elector of President and Vice-President.

### BROOKLYN DAILY EAGLE.

We cannot blink the fact that socialism is making rapid growth in this country, where, of all others, there would seem to be least inspiration for it.

### ALBANY PRESS-KNICKERBOCKER.

It may be safely said that if the American people manifest any enthusiasm over socialism, it will be on account of a desire for reforms that should save the nation from plutocracy.

### SAN FRANCISCO ARGONAUT.

Scarcely any phase of the election is more sinisterly interesting than the increase in the socialist vote. Elsewhere we have printed some figures regarding it. In the cities, where a propaganda has been made, converts to socialism multiply. The coal strike of two years ago, which provoked discussion of the project of confiscating the coal mines, embodied in the New York Democratic state platform, was undoubtedly the chief factor in swelling the socialist vote from 98,000 in 1900 to 225,000 in 1902. The vote of 1904 is more than triple that of 1902. Henceforth, it would appear, the socialist party must be reckoned with. Hitherto the United States has been the stronghold of individualism. While in Germany the socialist party is well represented in the Reichstag, while in France it has a cabinet member in the person of Jaurès, while in Belgium and Austria the socialists are very strong, the United States has hitherto almost entirely escaped being influenced by this world-wide movement. The rise of trusts, such incidents as the great coal strike, the continued immigration of socialists from Germany, Austria, and other countries, have apparently brought about the change. Senator Hanna said before he died: 'The next great issue this country will have to meet will be socialism.' Before election, and in anticipation of the presentation of charter amendments looking toward municipal ownership of public utilities in this city, the *Argonaut* pointed out the peril of such a course. We said that we could not afford to give aid and comfort to the socialists in any manner. Some newspapers, in comment, appeared to think that we were frightened by a bogey. We trust that they, and in particular our friend, the *Post*, now realize the danger that lies in experimenting with any form of socialism. It must be fought in all its phases, in its every manifestation.

### DETROIT NEWS.

That this growth will continue as long as the older parties continue their criminal partnership with aggregated wealth, particularly in its enjoyment of oppressive and unjust privileges in the matter of public service monopolies, is not for a moment to be doubted. Experience and observation attest that, in this country at least, nothing makes socialists faster than that corrupt subservience to private interests on the part of public officials that finds its most general, most conspicuous, and most exasperating manifestation in the unwillingness of councils, legislatures, and congresses to adopt effective measures to protect the people from obvious extortion in the matter of service rates of public utilities, from transcontinental railroads to village companies. It is no secret from the people that the pretended government regulation of these matters is in almost every instance a criminal farce, and the indifference with which the elder parties regard the growing popular protest against the perpetuation of such conditions is driving thousands of earnest men into radical organizations and movements of various sorts, but more especially into that which supported Debs this year.



DOES THIS ACCOUNT FOR IT?

"Can't you see we're busting the trusts!"—Philadelphia Record

### DENVER REPUBLICAN.

The large vote cast for the socialist candidate for President in some localities is one of the surprises of the campaign. . . . Apparently socialism is catching the fancy of some of the voters who have turned from populism and who wish something more glittering than the platform of either of the great parties affords. There is a plausibility about a socialist argument, just as there was in the old time populist argument, which appeals to the unthinking.

### ST. LOUIS GLOBE-DEMOCRAT.

What sort of a re-organization and re-alignment will take place in the Democratic party in the next four years? What kind of a coalition and a creed will the Republican party have to fight in 1908? These are queries of some interest to Democrats, Populists, Socialists, Republicans and all other political elements. It is generally assumed that the radicals of the Democracy will be in the ascendant in that party by the time the campaign of 1908 opens, and that these are to be the force which the Republican party will be called upon to combat. Mr. Debs, on the other hand, says that the Democratic party will disintegrate, as a result of its crushing defeat last week, and that the Socialist party will take its place. As Debs was the Presidential candidate of the Socialist party in the two latest national elections, and as he polled a considerable vote last Tuesday, his words on this point will have some weight. Debs had 88,000 votes in 1900. He got at least 600,000 in 1904, and the total, when all the returns are in, may go beyond that figure.

### KANSAS CITY STAR.

The country will make a mistake if it attempts to ignore the extraordinary strength of the socialist vote in Illinois. In Chicago alone Debs received as many votes as were cast in Kansas City on Tuesday for all candidates. In the state he received half as many votes as were cast for Parker.

There is only one inference from such a showing. Many people are evidently losing hope of correcting abuses under the present industrial system, and they are ready to go to the extreme of social revolution in order to remedy existing evils.

The great majority of thinking men are agreed that the remedies proposed by socialism would involve the country in troubles far more serious than those that exist today. But the trend of opinion shown in the Debs vote will not be checked so long as present evils are allowed to persist. The enormous concentration of wealth in the hands of a few men, made possible by illegal or unfair practices, the formation of trusts that use terrorism as a club and then raise prices—these and other tendencies of the times are responsible for the spread of socialistic doctrines.

So long as the legislators continue to let well enough alone the cause represented by Mr. Debs will flourish. The Illinois vote ought to prove a warning to both old parties.

The same paper in another issue:

The issue of *The Star* which announced the probable increase of the Debs vote in four years from 97,000 to 600,000 printed also an account of the reported attempt of the Standard Oil interests to unite all the principal railroads of the United States into one gigantic system.

It was a striking coincidence that brought these two news items side by side. One is a significant commentary on the other. The Debs platform is the inevitable response to the growth of Rockefellerism. The development of vast monopolies free from any control by the people is what socialism feeds on. If the present tendencies continue to act for four years longer, and Congress proves impotent to deal with them, there is no reason why the Debs vote should not increase sixfold again in 1908. Mr. Bryan's plans for a radical reorganization of the Democratic party, the sudden swing toward socialism—what are these save the announcements of the popular disapproval of the capitalist trend?

The country's chief reliance at this juncture is in the wise leadership of President Roosevelt, who is known to favor legislation for control of the great monopolies that are resulting from industrial evolution. If he can secure from Congress efficient laws for safeguarding public interests, the radical movements may be checked; otherwise they are likely to be accelerated. For it is coming to be widely believed that the only alternative to government supervision of the trusts is national ownership.

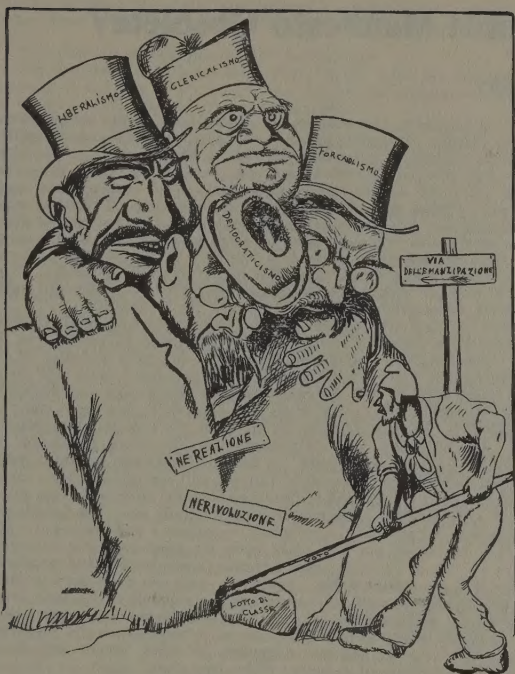
AMALGAMATED JOURNAL of the Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers.

It is the large increase in the vote cast for the Socialist party, however, that reflects the change that is taking place in the workingman's politics. It represents a change in the political opinions of some four hundred thousand workmen. It proves that the workmen are abandoning their former allegiance to the two old parties. In other words, they are thinking out their own politics and not letting the politicians think for them. There is a good deal of consolation to the honest workingman in some of the results of the recent election.

### COLUMBUS TRADES RECORD.

The growth of socialism is very rapid, and the only way that owners of large wealth can check it is by recognizing and encouraging legitimate and properly conducted labor unions and promoting harmony between labor and capital.





## CLEARING THE ROAD.

Rata Langa in *L'Asino*.

## The General Elections in Italy



THE result of the elections in Italy, heralded by the capitalist press of Italy and the United States as a crushing defeat for Socialism turns out to be a very encouraging kind of Socialist victory. It is true, the Socialists have lost a few seats, but unlike the capitalist politicians, they are less interested in "seats" than in votes which manifest a conviction. And their vote has been almost doubled, rising from 162,000 in 1906 to 301,000 in 1904.

The general election took place on Sunday, November 6. The Socialists had put up over 300 candidates. They were successful in 28 districts, while in 1900 they had elected 33 delegates. The loss of those five seats is to be accounted for partly by the loss of the support of the radical bourgeoisie. The general strike which took place in Italy in the middle of September, has had the effect of driving these bourgeois elements away from the revolutionary movement and into the arms of the upholders of law and order. The late Antonio Labriola once said that Italy could have no real Socialist movement before it had a bourgeoisie worth the name. The last election shows that the bourgeoisie is in process of formation. Heretofore that part of the population which is dominated by the Catholic clergy had abstained from voting. In this way it sought to express a protest against the Italian government for bringing the temporal power of the pope to a close. But now we are told that the growth of Socialism has alarmed the Vatican to such an extent that the Catholic church will throw its support to the conservative parties. And the capitalist organs have applauded such an alliance. That it has been formed in one way or another, there can be no doubt. The clerical vote has been comparatively heavy, and this is another fact which accounts for the loss of the Socialists in seats, despite their great gain in votes. Especially were the second elections carried by the government with the help of the votes mobilized by order of the Vatican. The organs of the government admit this. On November 13, the day of the second election, the streets were alive with priests going to the places of election. The black army was especially active in the city of Rome, where they brought out their whole force to beat Enrico Ferri, the Socialist leader. They succeeded in this, but Ferri was elected in two other districts.

It was the vote of the clericals and the former radicals that turned the second election into a victory for the government. The Socialists were interested in 28 districts, but they only elected two of their candidates, while four years ago the second election gave them 10 seats. On the other hand, while in 1900 the general election returned 23 Socialists, there were 26 returned this time.

To properly understand the importance of the 301,000 Socialist votes, it should be stated that the number of those entitled to a vote, is comparatively small, since all those not able to read and write are disfranchised. The illiterates numbered in 1901 no less than 18,115,323 and amounted to 56 per cent. of the population. The election of 1900 gave the Socialists 12.9 per cent. of the vote; it has now grown to 20 per cent.

Giolitti's cabinet, in the decree by which the old Parliament was dissolved, announced the general strike as the issue of the election. It was stated that the government desired to hear the opinion of the people "with regard to the deeds of violence of a small minority." The Socialists accepted the issue. Their manifesto said:

"The general strike has forced upon the government a new appeal to the people. The general strike with its admirable proletarian solidarity was a sure sign of political ripeness. While this strike by the class of warring class interests has divided the radical Left, it has given once more to the Socialist Party the consciousness that its highest power and its historic mission is to be found in the struggle for the socialization of the means of production, in the open field of the class struggle."

The outcome of the election shows that the policy of the Socialist party had the endorsement of a growing number of proletarians, while the bourgeois Liberals, Republicans and Radicals, which denounced the strike and spoke in favor of a "safe and sane" course of middle class politics, were decimated. Giolitti has to a certain extent succeeded in organizing a combination of the "law and order" element, which will do his bidding. But he has signally failed to stem the growing tide of Socialism. He has succeeded in getting a snug bourgeois majority behind himself, but the Italian proletariat has at the same time given new proof of its growing independence and class consciousness.

"For Socialism the result of the campaign, in which Giolitti's platform was 'war to Socialism,' may be summed up in a triumphant success," says *Avanti*, the Italian Socialist daily.

The Roman *Tribuna*, a semi-official capitalist organ, observes:

In reference to the Socialists, however, it is clear that the Socialist reformers have increased and the revolutionary Socialists have decreased, a clear sign that in this election the country has declared that general strikes with political objects are not to be tolerated by the country or the proletariat. On the other hand, the relative success of the Socialists indicates that the proletariat has needs which must be provided for by the new legislature, while the fate of the Radicals and Republicans indicates that the people are disgusted with those who try to reap the benefits of a general strike which they neither initiate and of the good of which they are not convinced."



## WHICH IS MORE IN NEED OF FREEDOM?

—Bradley in the *Chicago News*.



# To What Extent Is the Communist Manifesto Obsolete?

By Karl Kautsky



Communist Manifesto.

ALMOST sixty years have passed since the Communist Manifesto was written, sixty years of a mode of production which, more than any preceding one, consists in a constant overturning of the old and a continual hurrying and hunting after the new. They have been sixty years of thorough political and social revolutionizing, not only of Europe, but of the whole globe. Naturally, these sixty years could not pass without leaving its mark on the Communist Manifesto.

The more correctly it had comprehended its time and corresponded to it, the more it must needs grow obsolete and become an historic document which bears witness of its own time, but can no longer be determinative for the present.

But this, mark you, is true only with regard to some points, to those namely where the practical politician speaks to his contemporaries. Nothing would be more erroneous than to stamp the whole of the Communist Manifesto simply as an historic document. On the contrary. The principles developed by it, the method to which it leads us, the characteristic it gives by a few strokes of the Capitalist mode of production, are today more valid than ever. The whole actual development as well as the whole theoretic investigation, of the time since the drawing-up of the Manifesto, are nothing but an unbroken line of confirmations of its fundamental conceptions. Never was the principle more universally accepted that the history of all hitherto existing (civilized) society is the history of class wars; and never has it appeared plainer that the great moving power of our times is the class war between bourgeoisie and proletariat.

But the proletarians, and also the bourgeois, are no longer quite the same as they were six decades ago. Sharp and accurate as is the Manifesto's portrayal of them, and though even today it forms the most brilliant and profound exposition of them possible within so narrow a limit, in some respects it does no longer tally.

At the time when the Communist Manifesto appeared, the most striking characteristics of the proletariat were its degradation, the lowering of its wages, the lengthening of its working hours; its physical, and often its moral and intellectual damage, in short, its misery. Of the three great classes, which made up the bulk of the people, the peasants, the small tradesmen, and the wage workers, the last named then stood, in every respect, at the bottom of all. It was poor, oppressed, and helpless; and numerically as well as in economic importance it stood (except in England) inferior to the two other classes. For most of the disinterested spectators it was only an object of pity. It therefore needed all the economic and historic knowledge and all the acumen of a Marx and an Engels, to detect in the class struggle of the proletariat the strongest motive power in the social development of the coming decades, at a time when the successors of the great utopians yet regarded the proletariat as a helpless mass to which relief could come only from the upper classes. At that time, the revolutionists expected everything from what was called "the people," that is, in the main, from the small traders and the peasants, whose appendix was this mass of wage workers, intellectually, socially, and often economically dependent upon them.

Entirely different is the position of the proletariat nowadays. True, it is still subjected to the distressing influences of capital, as it was sixty years ago, and capital even today still endeavors to lengthen the hours of labor, to supplant the worker with the machine, to displace the toiling man by the woman and the child, and thus degrade the proletariat. But ever mightier does also grow "the rebellion of the constantly increasing working class, schooled, united and organized through the mechanism of the capitalist process of production." (Marx in *Capital*.) Ever stronger sets in the resistance of the proletariat as one after the other of its strata learns to overcome the degrading effects of capitalism.

Quite different is it with the peasantry and the small trading class. While for decades growing numbers of proletarians were shortening their worktime and increasing their wages, the worktime of the craftsmen and small farmers remained the same, or was extended even to the limits of physical endurance. At the same time the intensity of their labor grows, and more and more does the standard of life of the craftsman, the small trader and the small farmer approach the minimum of existence. On the other hand, while the working class knows how to gain an ever stronger bulwark, an ever greater protection for the women and children employed in the great industries, craftsmen and farmers are more and more forced to a far-going exploitation of their own women and children, as well as those of others.

Hand in hand with this economic transformation goes an intellectual and political one.

A hundred years ago the small tradesman far surpassed in intelli-

gence, self-reliance, and courage all other classes of the people; today he has become the prototype of narrowness, servility and cowardice, while the proletariat vigorously develops in those virtues. A hundred years ago, the small trader-class still formed the heart of democratic opposition and bourgeois radicalism, which declared war upon the castle, throne, and altar, and peace to the cottage. Today the small bourgeoisie has become the élite of reaction, the body-guard of those in the castle, upon the throne and on altar, to whom it looks for salvation from the misery into which it has been thrown by the economic development; and a similar thing has happened to the peasantry. Now there is only one class of the population that with all its strength stakes itself for social progress, and that class is the proletariat.

But all these transformations are, fortunately for social progress, attended by a complete shifting of the proportion of power. At the time of writing the Communist Manifesto, the great majority of the population (in France and Germany 70-80 per cent.) were still living in the open country. In the cities the petty bourgeoisie was dominant. Today the urban population of all the industrially developed states of Europe is in the majority, and in the cities the proletariat preponderates. And still more than its proportion to the whole population has grown its economic importance. A hundred years ago capitalist industry, especially on the continent of Europe, still served, chiefly, to satisfy the demands of luxury, and to produce silks, rugs, porcelain, paper, etc. Sixty years ago economic life rested mainly upon handicrafts and husbandry. At present the economic significance and the wealth of a country depend in the first place upon its great capitalist industries which no longer serve luxuries but mass consumption and producing things that are indispensable. A modern state can exist without farmers and handicraftsmen, as is shown by the example of England, but it cannot exist without capitalist industries and the means of communication corresponding to them. One can no longer say, as did the Manifesto: "The worker becomes a pauper, he sinks deeper and deeper below the conditions of existence of his own class."

Thus the proletariat occupies today quite a different position from sixty years ago. But, to be sure, he looks at things in a peculiar way, who thinks he perceives that in consequence of these changes the antagonism of the proletariat toward capital has been softened. Quite the contrary. On the one hand the proletariat has today, just as every other class, at its disposal a greater part of the advantages of culture than in former centuries, or even decades. The enormous increase of productive forces which have been unchained by capitalism, has not come upon the working class without leaving its mark. We may speak of an amelioration of the condition of many proletarian strata, if we compare them with the condition of the small bourgeoisie and the peasantry, but it falls short compared with the growth of the social powers of production, which capital appropriates and exploits to its own advantage. Compared with the standard of life of the capitalist class and the accumulation of capital the condition of the proletariat deteriorates; its share in the product of its toil decreases more and more and its exploitation increases. All the progress, which it nevertheless gains, has been gained only by a war against capital, and only by a continuous struggle is it able to maintain its winnings. In this way its degradation and its elevation, its defeats and also its victories, become sources of a continuous and growing exasperation against the hostile class. The forms of the struggle change, it assumes a higher level. Isolated acts of wild despair change to well planned acts of great organizations, but the antagonism remains and becomes ever harsher.

But as the proletariat so the industrial bourgeoisie during the last sixty years has undergone a transformation. When the Communist Manifesto appeared that class had only just done away with the corn laws, the last obstacle to its domination in England, and on the continent of Europe it was confronted with the necessity of a revolution, to make the political power subservient to its aims.

It stood in hostile attitude opposed to the powers that most apparently oppressed the bulk of the population—clergy, nobility, monarchy, and high finance. It was still cherishing great political aims, ideals that even surrounded it with something like ethical significance. It still believed that only the debris of feudalism stood in the way of a general prosperity, and after that was cleared away, there would begin an era of general happiness.

The revolution of 1848 brought the great disappointment and unveiled the class antagonism which, as we have just seen, the economic development afterwards deepened more and more, and thus the industrial bourgeoisie with its followers were driven into the camp of reaction. Nowhere in Europe could it gain exclusive sway. It tried to attain to power with the help of the small traders and the proletariat, and to preserve its domination by the help of those powers against which it had mobilized the democracy. To this should be added that



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industry is more and more surrendered to high finance, which has always been anti-democratic and favoring an absolute power in the state.

The Communist Manifesto could yet declare:

"In Germany the Communist Party fights with the bourgeoisie whenever it acts in a revolutionary way, against the absolute monarchy, the feudal squirearchy, and the petty bourgeoisie."

Today we can nowhere speak of a *revolutionary* bourgeoisie.

However, not only are bourgeoisie and proletariat in some respects differently disposed today, but the course of development, also, has not turned out quite as had been expected. To be sure, the basic economic development has wholly moved along the path which the Manifesto outlined so keenly; and what it says in this respect, remains classic to this day. But the political development has proceeded in a different manner than one could foresee at that time.

Marx and Engels were well aware of the fact that the working class in its condition at that time, especially in Germany, were unable to conquer the political powers or to maintain them. But they expected a bourgeois revolution which they, in Germany sooner than elsewhere foresaw, and they expected it to take a similar course to that of the English revolution of the seventeenth, and the French revolution of the eighteenth century. They expected it to be in its beginning a movement of the revolutionary bourgeoisie against absolutism and feudalism, but they hoped that in its onward course the proletarian elements would more and more recognize and develop their antagonism to the bourgeoisie and that the revolution would strengthen the influence of the proletariat and rapidly render them stronger and riper. For during a revolution, so they reasoned, every development proceeds at the quickest pace; a revolutionary class proceeds in five years as far, as otherwise in a century. Thus the proletarian revolution and the conquest of the political powers by the proletariat would follow immediately the bourgeois revolution was on, not as the product of a coup, but of years, perhaps decades of revolutionary struggles.

The Communist Manifesto says in this respect:

"The Communists turn their attention chiefly to Germany, because that country is on the eve of a bourgeois revolution, that is bound to be carried out under more advanced conditions of European civilization, and with a more developed proletariat, than that of England was in the seventeenth, and of France in the eighteenth century, and because the bourgeois revolution in Germany will be but the prelude to an immediately following proletarian revolution."

This expectation did not materialize, as we all know; it did not materialize just because the revolution of 1848 happened "under more progressive conditions of European civilization" than those of 1640 and 1789.

That which drove the proletarian, the half-proletarian and half petty-bourgeois elements of the English and the French revolutions to the front and helped them into temporary political power, was the war, a war of life and death, which the revolution had to carry on, and in which it could only maintain its position by that disregard of its own life and the property of the owning class, which distinguishes the proletariat. In England it was the long war of the Parliament against the feudal armies of Charles I, and in France the war, likewise lasting for years, against the allied monarchs of Europe.

But the revolution of 1848 kindled no war. Not a long-drawn civil war brought down the governments, the barricade battles of one day were sufficient to make them break down in Paris, Vienna and Berlin. And since the revolution extended over the whole of Europe, there was no foreign power to proclaim war against it. Absolutistic Russia kept at first very quiet.

But while the feudal-absolutistic opponents of the revolution of 1848 were much weaker than in the seventeenth and eighteenth century, the proletariat was much stronger. During the days of February it gained at once a dominating position in Paris. In place of a struggle of life and death against monarchy and nobility, for which it would have been necessary to call the proletariat to arms, submitting, finally, to its consequent influence, the bourgeoisie now at once felt constrained to begin a struggle of life and death against the proletariat itself, and for this purpose it called upon the power of the state, just subdued by it, for the help of its army, thus submitting once more to the military yoke.

The battle of June was the catastrophe of the revolution of 1848. It inaugurated a new historical epoch and marks the time when the bourgeoisie entirely ceases to be a politically revolutionary class. It brings, at least for Western Europe, the era of bourgeois revolutions to a close. I will not discuss how far this holds good for Russia, where the peasantry and the intellectuals play an entirely different rôle as in Western Europe. After June, 1848, a bourgeois revolution which could form the prelude of a proletarian revolution, is no longer possible in Western Europe. The next can only be a proletarian revolution.

And in Russia, too, the initiative for a revolution can only emanate from the industrial proletariat, even if as yet it does not lead to its conclusive domination.

But all this has put the labor movement in a totally different position.

The strengthening of the working class and its elevation to the altitude which would enable it to conquer the political powers and maintain them, can no longer be expected from a bourgeois revolution, which, becoming permanent, grows beyond its own limits and develops out of itself a proletarian revolution. Outside of the revolution, and preceding it, this ripening and strengthening must take place. It must have reached a certain degree, before a revolution is at all possible. It must take place through methods of peace, not of war—if one is permitted to express oneself as distinguishing between warlike and peaceful methods of the class struggle.

Protection of the workers, trade unionism and the organization of cooperative societies, now gradually assume a significance quite different from that of the time before June, 1848.

That which sixty years ago was still enshrouded in deepest darkness is today as clear as daylight. Thanks to this fact many a shortsighted mole who is diligently digging for earth-worms, thinks himself far superior in range and sharpness of vision to the masters of the Communist Manifesto, and even looks down with pity upon their intellectual errors. But the fact is that among the Socialists and revolutionaries nobody comprehended the new situation sooner than Marx and Engels.

They were the first to recognize that the era of revolution, for the near future at least, had come to an end. It was the International which before others systematically endeavored to promote the trade organization on the continent of Europe. "Capital" by Marx first offered a theory for the protection of the workers, and it was the International which in the sixties participated energetically in the movement for universal suffrage in England.

But not only the methods by which the working class becomes riper, the pace of the development, also, had to change in consequence of the new situation. The place of rapid revolutionary flight was taken by the snail-like movement of peaceful and legal evolution, too slow for a fiery soul.

Thus some things have had an outcome different from what the authors of the Manifesto expected at the time of its writing. But they were the first to recognize the new situation and they did so because of the principles and methods they had developed in their Manifesto, and the new situation was itself, although in different forms, an affirmation of these principles. When, during the following decades, the questions of protection to the worker and trade organization acquired an importance which in 1847 it was impossible to recognize, this was due only to the fact that a few months after the appearance of the Manifesto the class antagonism between bourgeoisie and proletariat already reacted upon the bourgeoisie in a manner which before February, 1848, nobody suspected. It was due therefore to the fact that the outlines of this antagonism in the Manifesto for its own time already proved to be truer than its authors had assumed.

Very few of those who act the part of "critics" of the Manifesto suspect this connection of things. From the fact that a rapid and stormy development was replaced by a "peaceful" and gradual one, and revolutionary by legal methods of class war, they conclude that an antagonism between bourgeoisie and proletariat either does not exist at all, or that it is in a state of constant mitigation. They preach cooperation between the liberal bourgeoisie and the proletariat and, insofar as they are Socialists, they refer to that sentence of the Manifesto which states:

"In Germany the Communist party fights with the bourgeoisie whenever it acts in a revolutionary way, against the absolute monarchy, the feudal squirearchy, and the petty bourgeoisie."

This sentence, it is claimed, gives approval to the policy of a combination of radicals in order to capture the government, and to the policy of a socialistic ministerialism, as practised by some Socialist factions in France and Italy, and preached everywhere by the representatives of the "new method." Here we have a Marxian "dogma," defended with a truly dogmatic fanaticism by the champions especially of "critical" Socialism.

But we have seen that so far as we may speak of a "mistake" in the Manifesto and deem criticism a necessity, this has to begin with the very "dogma" of the politically revolutionary bourgeoisie. The very displacement of revolution by evolution during the last fifty years grows out of the fact that a revolutionary bourgeoisie no longer exists. Besides, Marx and Engels understood by the term "fighting with the bourgeoisie" something else than the supporters of present-day socialistic ministerialism. The address of the Central Executive Board of the Communist League of March, 1850, treats of the relation of the Communists to the bourgeois democracy, of which it was assumed at that time that during a new revolutionary eruption it would place itself at the helm of the state. To quote:

"At the present moment, when the democratically inclined petty bourgeoisie is everywhere oppressed, they generally preach union and conciliation to the proletariat. They offer their hand for the formation of a great party of the opposition, comprising all the different shades of democratic belief. That is, it is their aim to draw the workers into a party organization ruled by the phrase behind which the bourgeois democracy hide their special interests. In this organization the definite demands of the proletariat, for the sake of dear peace, must



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not be mentioned. Such a combination would only redound to the benefit of the bourgeoisie, and wholly to the disadvantage of the proletariat. The latter would lose its independent position, gained by hard work, and it would again descend to the level of an appendix of the bourgeois democracy. This kind of combination must therefore be rejected most energetically. No special combination is necessary in case of a fight against a common enemy. As soon as such an enemy is to be fought, the interests of both parties for the time being are one, and just as heretofore, so also in the future an alliance, calculated to serve the moment, will spring into existence. It is understood that in the approaching bloody conflicts, as in preceding ones, the workers, by their courage, firmness and sacrifice, will have to win the victory. . . . During the struggle and after it, the workers must at every opportunity advance their own demands side by side with those of the bourgeois democrats. They must demand guarantees for themselves as soon as the bourgeoisie prepare to take the government in their hand. They must, if necessary, wrest such guarantees from them and in general see to it that the new rulers pledge themselves to all possible concessions and promises—the surest means to make them compromise themselves. On the whole, they must in every way keep back as much as possible the intoxication that comes of victory and the enthusiasm for the new state of affairs, by a calm and cool comprehension of conditions and by an open distrust in the new government. . . . In a word: from the first moment of victory the distrust must no longer be directed against the vanquished reactionary party, but against those who have so far been allies, against the party which will try to exploit the common victory solely for its own advantage."

This, then, was the form of the common struggle of bourgeoisie and proletariat against absolutism and feudalism, as Marx and Engels looked upon it. It is something quite different from what the present day Socialistic ministerials in France and Italy aim at.

Of course one may object that what took place at that time were revolutionary struggles. But a common revolutionary struggle is for the united action of bourgeoisie and proletariat the most favorable case. The danger that the political power of the proletariat may be exploited by the bourgeoisie; the danger of a loss of that political power which emanates from its political independence, and the necessity for distrust against a bourgeois democratic government, are evidently much stronger where the bourgeoisie can no longer be anything but conservative, as where its aim is still the revolutionary conquest of new positions.

But wherever today a co-operation of bourgeoisie and proletariat may become necessary, it is, with the exception of Russia, not for revolutionary but for conservative purposes, for the preservation and security of the existing meagre rudiments of democracy against the onslaught of reaction.

In these struggles against reaction also the proletariat has to stand its ground, here too the hardest work falls to its share, and here too it sometimes has to co-operate with the liberal bourgeoisie. But more even than in the revolutionary struggle there is danger here that it may be betrayed by its ally, and exists the necessity to face him with open distrust. And above all there exists the necessity of a fully independent organization. The proletariat by condition of its class, is a most thoroughly revolutionary class, and is to-day the only revolutionary class. For a time circumstances may force it to participate in a conservative action against reaction, but never can it be fully consumed thereby. It will always give practical proof of its revolutionary char-

acter, which will break through even where for the moment it acts conservative. Its powers can only develop and increase by revolutionary action and revolutionary propaganda and it destroys the roots of its strength if it limits itself to the role of a conservative guardian of the ruling liberal bourgeoisie against the onslaught of clergy, landed aristocracy and mercenaries.

Of course, these are questions which concern the Socialists of Western Europe more than those who are active in the Russian empire. The latter live under political and economic conditions which still greatly resemble those of Germany on the eve of the revolution of 1848. For that reason the Manifesto is still far more valid for them than for the Socialists of Western Europe, not only as regards its fundamentals and methods and its presentation of the general character of the capitalist mode of production, all of which at present still form the firm foundations for every consciously proletarian movement of every country, but also in many details which for Western Europe have become obsolete.

With modern conditions of international intercourse, however, no country, and least of it a capitalist country, is moved along the path of its domestic development by its internal motive power alone. Outside influences, and above all the reaction of the class wars of foreign countries, become almost equally important for its class struggles.

The revolutionary battle of June, 1848, in France proved decisive not only for the course of the French revolution, but also for that of the German revolution and the labor movement in England. In the same way, the relations between proletariat and bourgeoisie in Western Europe react upon the relations of these classes in Russia, which classes are placed in a political and economic situation at once corresponding to the time of the Manifesto, and embodying all the tremendous revolutions and experiences which for two generations of uninterrupted economic revolution since the Communist Manifesto have been created.

The political relation between bourgeoisie and proletariat, between liberalism and Socialism is for that reason a much more complex and difficult one in Russia than in Western Europe. To rightly comprehend it, the Socialists active under Russian absolutism, will have to take into consideration the most primitive conditions of their own country just as much as the most highly developed conditions of the other countries. The bourgeoisie of Russia still has a revolutionary task to fulfil, but it has already the reactionary turn of mind of the bourgeoisie of the West.

The best and most reliable guide the Russian Socialists will find in the Manifesto. It is no gospel, no bible, as it has been called, the words of which are holy words, but an historic document that should be subjected to criticism, to a criticism, however, which does not limit itself to state how some sentences and turns no longer fit the case: to a criticism, furthermore, that endeavors to comprehend it and to comprehend also those sentences which today are obsolete, thus deriving new knowledge from them. To him who studies the Communist Manifesto in this manner it is a compass upon the stormy ocean of the proletarian class struggle. A compass that has proved reliable by pointing out, for sixty years, the direction of the economic development, and which all the facts have corroborated again and again. A compass to which the Socialist parties of all countries are indebted for the fact that despite all contrary currents, despite fogs and cliffs, they are always headed in the right direction. There is no historic document which the decades following its writing have confirmed more gloriously than the Communist Manifesto.



"YOU'VE GOT US BEATEN TO A STANDSTILL."

New York Herald.



Parry-site Employer. — "Come chick, chick! Come good little chickie? Come and be killed!"

Social Democratic Herald.



# The Impending Conflict Between Social Democracy and the Catholic Church

Emile Vandervelde in New York Independent



IN the United States, where religion is a private matter, an affair of conscience, where no religious sect dominates, or pretends to dominate, others, it must be difficult indeed to realize the bitterness of the contest that rages in most of the countries of Western Europe between the Roman Catholic Church and its opponents. It is not alone in France that this contest grows in intensity.

During the last few years throughout Western Europe there has been a marked reaction toward clericalism. The Catholics have organized themselves into powerful and well-disciplined parties. The covert authority of the convents, which had been abolished by the Revolution, has been developed under new forms, and religious associations have attained a greater control over education, while the political influence of the Church since the beginning of the pontificate of Leo XIII has made itself felt on all sides.

In our little Belgium the Conservative Party, made up in large part of the supporters of the Church, has been a power for the last nineteen years. In the Netherlands the majority in the States-General (the two legislative houses) belong to a truly extraordinary coalition of Catholics and Protestants—of disciples of Loyola and of Calvin. In Germany the Center (the Catholic section of the Reichstag), though it declines in influence among the working class, appears more and more the hub of the government majority. Protestant Conservatives pay their court to it, while the Lutheran Emperor betakes himself to Rome to bow before the Pope. In England, where frequent conversions to Catholicism are loudly advertised, and where the Established Church reveals a growing disposition to imitate the Roman Church, Mr. Balfour's Ministry grants equal appropriations to all the religious sects in the Education bill and makes important concessions to Rome in order to conciliate the Irish Catholics.

In short, in all the countries of Western Europe, in Germanic or Anglo-Saxon as well as in the Latin countries, clericalism gains, or at least seems to gain, ground. When in the minority its opposition becomes more aggressive; when in the majority, or holding the balance of power, its domination waxes heavier.

But, by a natural reaction, anti-clericalism, which had been relegated to the background on account of the pressure of socio-industrial issues, has again appeared and is spreading in every direction. In France, in Italy, and even in Catholic Spain, the old cry of "*A bas la calotte*" resounds on all sides. The veterans of former battles return to the ranks. The youth are divided again into Catholics and anti-Catholics.

But it would be an illusion to believe that nothing is changed, and that the reviving struggle between the clericals and the anti-clericals has the same meaning as had that of the epoch of Pius IX. and his syllabus. First of all, it is clear that since the rise of Socialism the efforts of the Catholic Church are not directed against the same enemies as of old. From having defended the nobles and the kings of the *Ancien Regime* against the liberal, republican, revolutionary middle class, it turns to-day to defend the middle class, which has become conservative and even reactionary, against the assaults of the Socialist proletariat.

Fifty years ago Catholics denounced Liberalism as "a pest and a frenzy." To-day clericals chant the "Marseillaise," since it has become, through the strange vicissitudes of things, the national hymn. Clericalism calls itself liberal when, as in France, it is in the minority. It disdains, or at most, uses the Liberals when, as in Belgium and Holland, it is in the majority. But always and everywhere it attacks Socialism, and by cunningly encouraging the fears which Socialism inspires in the classes who have property to lose, it succeeds in holding its old positions and even advancing to further ones.

It would be a great mistake—and far-seeing Catholics have no illusions on this subject—to suppose that the present revival of clericalism means an awakening of religious faith, even among Catholics. Doubtless a certain number of persons of conservative religious instincts, fearing the logical consequences of rationalism, return to the Church, and by interpreting symbolically the old articles of faith construct a new creed which contents them. But these are only superficial drifts; they are but eddies of the great tide that bears the people of Europe in a diametrically opposite direction.

One of the heads of the Belgian Catholic party, M. Woeste, acknowledged this in an article published some time ago. "The Roman Church in Europe may gain voters," he says, "but it continues to lose souls." Even in Belgium, where the Church reigns through intermediaries; where the Government, in its complete subservience, chooses magistrates and functionaries, imposes religious teaching in the schools

and grants appropriations as authority and wealth command, there is no doubt that the masses reveal a growing disaffection to the ecclesiastical power.

It is an indubitable fact that, notwithstanding appearances to the contrary, Europe is now decatholicizing herself. One might even go further with safety and say that she is dechristianizing herself. Slowly but surely, with the irresistible movement of a geological subsidence, faith is waning among the industrial workers and even among the peasants. One can safely assert that about twenty years ago nearly every one held to some religious creed. Freethinkers were few and to be found only in the middle class. Societies for promoting secular marriages and burials existed only in the larger cities. To-day we see them spreading and multiplying throughout the industrial centres and wherever mining and manufacturing are carried on. In Belgium, in France, in Germany, the workmen who follow no particular creed number hundreds of thousands—yes, millions—and as their hopes of a heavenly kingdom dissolve other hopes assert themselves with a growing intensity. Wherever free thought penetrates Socialism enters also. We know, it is true, many workmen who become Socialists without relinquishing, or without totally abandoning, their religious convictions; but aside from "yellows" and "blacklegs," acting solely from mercenary motives, we neither know nor can conceive of any freethinking workman who is not at the same time a Socialist.

What wonder, then, that this conservative middle class, instinctively antagonistic to Socialism, should become more and more antagonistic to free thought! Just as the coming of spring in the mountains dissolves the glaciers and sends down floods of icy water which cool the atmosphere of the low lands, so under the sunshine of free thought the breaking up of the religious creeds of the proletariat chills the rationalistic tendencies of the middle class. Frightened by the socio-industrial consequences of free thought, an increasing section of the rich leans toward the Catholic Church, which is regarded by all as the strongest bulwark of the capitalists' interest. The terror of revolutionary ideas drives this section to at least the pretense of believing; and sometimes, thanks to the efforts of the Jesuits, it succeeds in inculcating belief in its children.

It is thus that the apparent clerical reaction is explained. Far from its corresponding to a general awakening of religious faith, it is in fact a corollary of the decline of faith among the masses. But it is nevertheless true that the alliance of priest and capitalist, the coalition of spiritual and temporal power, against Socialism and free thought, furnishes the conservative and reactionary parties with formidable means of action and constitutes the most redoubtable threat against the immediate future of European civilization. Progressists have not only clericalism to fight, but also, under different forms and labels, militarism, protectionist imperialism, and in most countries a marked tendency on the part of the sovereigns to enlarge their personal power to the detriment of the sovereignty of the people.

What else than proletarian power can we oppose to this reactionary power? Can we depend on the middle class as a class, or on Liberalism as a party? Facts answer. In Belgium, in Holland, in Germany, the Liberals are terribly weakened; the fear of Socialism demoralizes them. It is only too often that the reactionary majority in the elections is due to their votes. In England the division and melting away of the Liberal opposition made possible the South African war, and render possible, if not probable, the success of Mr. Chamberlain's fiscal plans.

Justice forbids us, however, to reproach English Liberalism as a body with the reactionary complaisance of the right wing. In France, too, there is a distinction to be made. The Republican middle class and the radical democracy do not hesitate to accept the help of the Social Democracy in the fight against the Catholic Church by enrolling Millerand in the Ministry and electing Jaurès Vice-President of the Chamber of Deputies.

But we must not lose sight of the fact that France is, above all, a country of bourgeoisie and small land-holders. The industrial centers are far apart, except in the territory bordering on the Belgian and German frontiers. The organization of the working class is therefore comparatively weak. Socialism itself is often, in France, but the idealistic expression of an advanced radicalism. It thus seems natural enough that the middle class parties should not show it, but should be anti-clerical rather than anti-Socialistic. But let industry develop on a large scale, let the antagonism of the classes accentuate itself, let the French proletariat strengthen and extend its organization, and we shall see in France, as in the rest of Western Europe, the middle class facing about and asking pardon of the Church for the ills it has suffered through her.



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Thus it is, in the old world, that two gigantic coalitions are formed by the elimination of intermediaries: the Black International and the Red International. On the one hand are all those who hold that authority should descend from above and who find in the Catholic Church the most perfect expression of their ideal, the most inflexible guardian of their class privileges; on the other hand are those who insist that authority shall come from the people, and who, by the logic of circumstances, can found their hopes on nothing but Social Democracy.

Between these two extremes Protestantism hesitates and Liberalism shifts from place to place. One may see clearly the truth of the prediction that was made about fifty years ago by the Catholic writer, Donoso Cortés:

"The Liberal school honors equally darkness and light. It has undertaken—extravagant and impossible undertaking—to govern without the people and without God. Its days are numbered. One sees already on the two opposite sides of the horizon, the rising sun that proclaims God and the ominous cloud that announces the mad rage of the people. In the terrible day of battle, when the whole arena shall be filled with the Catholic and Socialist phalanxes, no one will know where to find the forces of Liberalism."

One may welcome or deplore the fact of this coming concentration of forces about the Catholic Church on the one side, the Social Democracy on the other. But none can deny that this concentration is inevitable, and that the future struggles will have to be fought out between these two armies. To those, therefore, who are interested in the social movement of Europe, we say: Observe, above all else, if you wish to consider only the essential factors, the political activities of the Roman Catholic Church and those of International Socialism.



CHRIST AND BUDDHA ON THE SHAKHE.

"And they ask our aid for this!"

—Jugend (Munich).

### Socialism in Canada



THE Canadian Socialist Labor Party, the first Socialist Party in the field in Canada, was organized in Ontario in or before 1894, and has several strong sections in that province and in Winnipeg and Vancouver. Its Halifax section, organized in 1899, has been inactive for several years. The S. L. P. has contested nearly every election in London, Toronto and several other Ontario towns since 1898.

The Canadian Socialist League was founded in Montreal in 1898 by persons who had belonged to the S. L. P. section there. It spread its branches into Ontario, British Columbia, the Northwest Territories, Manitoba and New Brunswick. Out of it grew the B. C. Socialist Party, founded in October, 1901; the Ontario Socialist Party, founded in November, 1901, and the Manitoba Socialist Party, organized in 1902.

At the Ontario provincial elections on May 28th, 1902, eight S. L. P. and seven O. S. P. candidates received 2,934 votes.

In the B. C. elections, October 3rd, the B. C. Socialist Party ran ten candidates, and the S. L. P. one. The eleven contested nine ridings

of the thirty-four. They received 5,160 votes, about nine per cent. of all the votes cast. Two of them—J. W. Hawthornwaite and Parker Williams, both of Nanaimo County, Vancouver Island—were elected; a third came within ten votes of succeeding, and only three lost their deposits. Previously, only two Socialist candidates had ever run in B. C. In 1901, McLain got 684 votes in Vancouver; and in 1902, Parker Williams got 156 votes in North Nanaimo.

In Nova Scotia, since Halifax section, S. L. P., discontinued its meetings, Socialism has been most active in Cape Breton. Prominent in the work there are Messrs. Fred Lighter and Alex. McKinnon, of Glace Bay, C. B.

In New Brunswick there is one Socialist society—Fredericton Socialist League—organized on July 28, 1902.

The organ of the B. C. S. P. is the *Western Clarion*, Vancouver, B. C. The Manitoba S. P. has a weekly Socialist department in the *Winnipeg Voice*, and Fredericton Socialist League has the use of the columns of *Butler's Journal*, and of the *Maine Socialist*, Bath, Me.

### Something for Nothing

Ernest Crosby in *The Craftsman*.



WE have never suffered from lack of energy, and the preaching of strenuousness was never more out of place than in America, but we have had low ideals, and the preachers of strenuousness have nothing better to offer us. Our ideal has been to get something for nothing: to reap the forbidden fruit of the tree of others' labor; to rise (or rather to sink) from earnings to income; to seek an "independence" in absolute dependence upon the toil of others; and to solve a problem from the hire of the laborer. Our northern woods have fallen, not for the house-builder, but for the timber speculator. Coal mines are worked, with an eye, not to the hearthstone, but to the dividend. Railways serve the stockholder and not the traveler. The nineteenth century slaved and slaved, not because things were useful or beautiful, but because they paid. It never cared at all what it was doing, but only for the reflex action upon the doer. Its God was the market, and it built its cities not to live in, but to rent. It is easy to see that such a false motive must be disastrous to all beauty and to all art. Once admit that you are making a thing merely to sell, and you open the door to every commercial villainy. Make it to use, and, at once, all the muses hover about you. The peddler who cried: "razors to sell," and when told by a customer that his razors did not shave, answered that they were "to sell" and not "to shave"—is a good symbol of the nineteenth century. If the twentieth is to be any better, we must go to the root of the matter and set up a new ideal. Profit-mongering, which is nothing but gambling with our workmen as counters, must cease, before the world can begin to be beautiful truthfully, and before art can be anything but a hollow, mincing lie.



ROOSEVELT'S PEACE CONFERENCE.

—Ulrich (Berlin).



# The Comrade

By ARTHUR WINDERMERE.

Deut. 15-11.



E worked beside them day by day,  
They did not see his soul was starved.  
They said: "How wondrously he carved."  
He had a quiet, patient way.  
He walked beside them day by day.  
They saw not any sign of care.  
"We heard no murmur of despair."  
But want had wooed his soul away.



## Support the Socialist Press!



FEW weeks ago the editor of *Collier's Weekly* condescended to give space to an article on socialism, written by Upton Sinclair. Some of the socialist papers advised their readers to buy *Collier's* and one paper said:

"Whenever popular magazines publish such articles it would be well for all comrades who see them to write to the publishers expressing their interest. If the editors of periodicals which publish

an article on socialism by a socialist were to receive hundreds of letters and postal cards endorsing their venture, it would encourage them to repeat it."

The following from *Collier's Weekly* shows how the encouraging letters and postal cards worked:

"Socialists are militant, and as a class are busily engaged in propagating their doctrines. Sometimes they overdo it. When an article by a socialist appeared in this paper some weeks ago, we were immediately flooded with mail orders for that number. Probably no socialist bought his extra copies on the stands. He wished us to know how valuable commercially it was to print an argument of that trend. A flood of letters and postal cards also celebrated the lucubration, and sometimes a dozen of these postals would be postmarked from one village. It is attractive, it is often touching, to read the sincere outbursts of those who identify dissatisfaction at this world with belief in the efficacy of one nostrum for its cure. It is interesting in a lighter way to see the energy with which professional socialists undertake to extend their cause. They are as enthusiastic and as audible as the army of General Booth. In such details, however, as this postal card bombardment of approval, they may sometimes err in strategy. They may make reading the mail such a nuisance that we shall refrain from further articles setting forth their doctrines."

This is what might have been expected. Capitalist publications, such as *Collier's*, may, for the novelty of it, accept an article or two on socialism, since it makes "good copy." But the very outburst of approval, which is sure to follow by return mail, will make them recover their senses. The very endorsement of a socialist article will tend to teach them that it is dangerous to play with the revolutionary spark and they will abstain from doing it again. Just as a man, taking up a revolver to examine the beautifully carved handle, will quietly lay it down as soon as he finds that it is loaded.

We fully agree with the "*Alliance of the Rockies*," which says:

"Some of the Socialist papers are advising their readers to purchase or subscribe for the plutocratic journals or monthlies, as *Collier's*, *McClure's*, etc., because they happen to publish a few articles of a Socialist character for the sake of popularity. Socialists should spend their money for Socialist magazines. They have already spent too much money on the old line magazines. Every dollar spent on such is worse than thrown away. It is like buying gunpowder to blow out their own eyes. If you want to find out what Socialism is don't go to the enemies of Socialism to find out what it means."

Similarly the *Montana News* remarks:

"The article in *Collier's Weekly* by Upton Sinclair on Socialism created such interest that the publishers of the journal were exhausted in supplying the demand. In connection with this many of the Socialist papers over the United States were advising their readers—whom we suppose are Socialists—to buy the issues of *Collier's Weekly*, assuming, of course, that it would serve as an "incentive" for this class of capitalist journals to publish more Socialist articles.

"Herein lies the mistake, when such advice is given by the Socialist papers or comrades. Let the capitalist parasite and the bourgeois buy those capitalist sheets, but you Socialists spend your money with your own papers that are struggling for an existence, and ones that can

be relied upon to lead you aright, and not astray, as will these capitalist papers in the near future.

"The fact that the issue above mentioned received such tremendous sales proves too conclusively that the present society is still imbued with the capitalistic idea, and desire to fawn at the feet of the money power and continue to worship an idol. An article, it appears, by a man in one of these capitalist sheets counts for more than a better article if published in a Socialist paper.

"In connection with this great interest in the Sinclair article comes the information that the Great Falls Tribune is dishing up Socialist articles every day. And as Socialism grows you will find these capitalistic sheets—the deadly enemy of the proletarian—granting, as Comrade Herron says, many of the things demanded by the Socialists, and while these papers will draw the support of the common people to them, the true Socialist publication will be left to starve to death.

"Capitalism is working the old game over again. The capitalist is class conscious and understands the play very well, and if by stepping in and granting some of the demands of the Socialist philosophy they are able to swing to them the great majority of people, again will history repeat itself, and the master will remain master only under a different regime.

"It is a surprise to the writer to see the Socialist papers advising the Socialists to buy these capitalist sheets because they contain articles on Socialism. Just what the capitalist wants; he is baiting his trap—the capitalist press—ready to play the old three-shell trick on the worker again.

"No Socialist should spend a single cent with the capitalist press, even though it may publish thousands of articles on Socialism. Let the bourgeois and capitalist parasites support these sheets, but let the rank and file of the Socialist party support their own papers and their own literature. Spend not one cent of money for any of their papers from the country cross road weekly to their daily and monthly publications.

"It is up to the worker to educate himself and his emancipation lies in his own power, and to think that the capitalist press or power is ready to assist him in the least is a sad mistake. Kick over the money changers' tables, press and all, comrades, and stand by your own cause and class if you ever expect to win the day for the establishment of the co-operative commonwealth."

The workers must have their own press. Says William Mailly, the National Secretary of the Socialist Party:

"They (the workers) must have their own press—a press that will reflect the interests of the working class. They must have a press upon whose support they can depend to-day, to-morrow and forever. A press that will tell the truth all the time, even though the telling may hurt the feelings of those it seeks to benefit. A press that will not "crook the pregnant hinges of the knee that thrift may follow fawning." A press that will fight for labor so long as the class struggle wages, either in times of apparent peace or open war. A press that will proclaim the central, omnipresent, overshadowing truth that justice can only come to the worker, that exploitation can never cease and industrial peace be established until the system of private ownership of industry is abolished, and replaced by the Socialist co-operative commonwealth."

If the workers want a press of their own, they will have to support it. The following lines from Eugene V. Debs, written a few months ago when one of the Socialist papers cried out for help, would tend to show that supporting their own press is a task which, if properly attended to, will keep the Socialists fully busy, without their helping the enemy.

Our comrades should pay careful attention to the remarks of Debs, who said:

"Socialists are not consistent, to put it mildly, when they talk continually about "education" while they let their own press starve to death. Socialists, who stand against exploitation, have no right to exploit those who serve them . . .

"Trade Unionists, made up wholly of workers, manage to support their press, at least a large part of it, in decent order, so that the press can live comfortably and serve instead of starving and dying.

"I have always been opposed to a two-for-five press. I want to see a substantial paper, the best that can be produced, and a reasonable price paid for it, instead of a flimsy sheet on crutches that manages to limp from one issue to another, almost a walking epitaph. This is no reflection on the publishers, but it is intended to hit those, and hit them hard, who expect a Socialist paper for nothing and who expect everything else at the same price. They are lacking, not in means, but in common honesty. . . .

"My observation is that our papers and our propaganda in general are more liberally supported by those who cannot afford it than by those who can."





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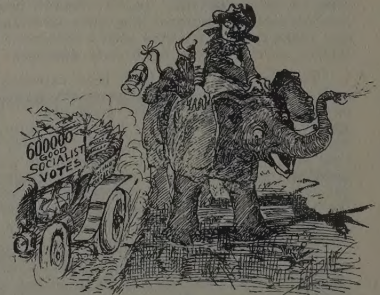
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Five cent pamphlets. To shareholders \$2.00 per hundred, postpaid.

## Books Received.

- First Conditions of Human Prosperity. By R. Russell. Cloth, 156 pages. Price, \$1.00. New York, Longmans, Green & Co.
- Poverty. By Robert Hunter. Cloth, 382 pages. Price, \$1.50 net. New York, The Macmillan Company.
- The Sea-Wolf. By Jack London. Cloth, 366 pages. Price, \$1.50. New York, The Macmillan Company.
- The National Peacemakers.—By John F. Henkle. Cloth, 140 pages. Price, \$1.00.
- The History of Civilization. By Julian Laughlin. Illustrated. Cloth, 526 pages. Price, \$5.00. Published by the Author.
- Politics in New Zealand. By Frank Parsons and C. F. Taylor. Illustrated. Paper. 108 pages. Price, 25 cents. Philadelphia: C. F. Taylor.
- The Open Shop. By Clarence S. Darrow. Paper, 32 pages. Price, 10 Cents. Chicago, Hammersmark Publishing Co.
- Songs of Labor. By Lorenzo D. Gillespie. Paper, 70 pages. Salina, Kansas: Central Kansas Publishing Co.
- Wall Street Speculation. By Franklin C. Keyes. Paper, 77 pages. Price, 25 cents. Oneonta, New York Columbia Publishing Co.
- Books by Leo Tolstoy, Published by the Free Age Press, London, England.
- Letters to Friends on the Personal Christian Life. 40 pages. Paper. Price, Three pence.
- Letters on War. 40 pages. Paper. Price, Three pence.
- Bethink Yourselves. 64 pages. Paper. Price, Three pence.
- On Life. 192 pages. Paper. Price, Sixpence.
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